

## Message Text

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45 S  
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 CIAE-00

DODE-00 PM-03 H-01 INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01

PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 AID-05 IGA-01 OMB-01 TRSE-00

ACDA-05 SAJ-01 EB-07 ( ISO ) W  
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FM AMEMBASSY ANKARA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7895  
INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA PRIORITY

S E C R E T ANKARA 1151

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR, TU, GR, CY  
SUBJ: TURKISH REACTION TO THE US AID CUTOFF

SUMMARY: WHILE TURKISH POLITICAL PARTIES HAVE GONE ON RECORD DEPLORING THE END OF US AID AND PLEDGING NOT TO BACK DOWN UNDER THIS DURESS, THUS FAR, GOT ACTION HAS BEEN MORE APPARENT THAN REAL. WASHINGTON'S WORDS OF SORROW AND THE GOT'S CALMING STATEMENTS HAVE BOUGHT US SOME TIME. BUT PUBLIC PRESSURES AGAINST THE US ARE RAPIDLY BUILDING UP IN TURKEY, AND IT WOULD BE A GRAVE ERROR TO BELIEVE THAT THE DAMAGE WILL REMAIN LIMITED FOR LONG. WE MAY BE ABLE TO GET THROUGH FEBRUARY WITHOUT EFFECTIVE PUBLIC RETALIATION BY THE GOT. BUT IF THE GOT COMES TO BELIEVE THAT WE ARE LEADING IT ON WITH UNFOUNDED HOPES OF A CONGRESSIONAL TURN-AROUND, ITS RESTRAINT WILL EVAPORATE AND IT WILL FEEL THE NEED TO BEGIN TO DISMANTLE THE ALLIANCE IN PAINFUL AND COMPELLING WAYS. IN ANY EVENT, TURKISH CONFIDENCE IN THE US AS AN ALLY HAS BEENPOWERFULLY SHAKEN AND THIS WILL HURT US WHEN WE EVENTUALLY SORT OUT EXACTLY WHERE WE STAND IN MILITARY AND POLITICAL COOPERATION. END SUMMARY.

1. THE LEADERS OF ALL TURKISH POLITICAL PARTIES HAVE MADE

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PUBLIC STATEMENTS ANGRILY DEPLORING THE END OF US AID AND PLEDGING

TURKEY NOT TO BACK DOWN UNDER THIS DURESS. THE GOVERNMENT TOO HAS ISSUED ITS OWN PUBLIC CRITICISM OF THE US CONGRESSIONAL ACTION AND HAS WITH FANFARE ANNOUNCED THE SUSPENSION OF THE NEGOTIATIONS ON THE IMPLEMENTING AGREEMENTS. DESPITE THE ELEMENT OF ANGER, HOWEVER, THUS FAR THE TONE OF THESE DECLARATIONS HAS BEEN SOMEWHAT RESTRAINED AND THE EFFECT OF THE GOT ACTION MORE APPARENT THAN REAL. IT IS EVIDENT THAT NO ONE IN AUTHORITY REALLY WANTS TO RUSH TURKEY PRECIPITATELY OUT OF THE ALLIANCE AND ON ITS OWN.

2. QUITE CLEARLY WASHINGTON'S WORDS OF SORROW AND THE GOT'S CALMING STATEMENTS AND PURPOSELY INEFFECTIVE GESTURES HAVE BOUGHT US SOME TIME. ALSO THE INCREDULITY OF OUR CRITICS ON THE LEFT THAT WE COULD ACTUALLY ACT AGAINST OUR OWN INTERESTS HAS CONTRIBUTED TO LIMITING THE INITIAL REACTION. FOR EXAMPLE, A CURRENT--- THOUGH COMPLETELY UNFOUNDED--RUMOR IN LEFTIST CIRCLES THAT ANKARA HAS GIVEN WASHINGTON UNTIL THE END OF FEBRUARY TO GET A CONGRESSIONAL REVERSAL BEFORE CLOSING US FACILITIES, REDUCES THE GOVERNMENT'S NEED TO PRESS US HARDER AT PRESENT.

3. BUT PRESSURES ARE RAPIDLY MOUNTING IN TURKEY. EDITORIALISTS ARE CONCENTRATING ON THE AID CUTOFF, AND THE WILLINGNESS TO CONSIDER RADICAL OPTIONS IN SPREADING BEYOND THE ORGANS OF THE FAR LEFT. WE HEAR RUMBLINGS OF SHOCK AND BITTERNESS WITHIN THE MILITARY (ALTHOUGH WE HAVE NO INDICATIONS THAT TEMPERS HERE ARE GENERALLY OUT OF CONTROL OR YET THREATEN TO FORCE THE GOVERNMENT TO FAR MORE EXTREME POSITIONS). EDUCATED OPINION-MAKERS AND POLITICAL LEADERS APPEAR TO BE BUILDING UP A HEAD OF STEAM OF FRUSTRATION AGAINST THE US. AND THIS CURRENT IS STRENGTHENED ESPECIALLY BY THOSE AT THE HEAD OF THE REPUBLICAN PEOPLES PARTY (RPP) WHO ARE UNDER PRESSURE TO PUSH THEIR PARTY INTO A FAR MORE RADICAL STANCE ON THIS ISSUE.

4. IT WOULD BE A GRAVE ERROR, THEREFORE, TO BELIEVE THAT THE DAMAGE WILL REMAIN LIMITED OR LONG IN THE EVENT THAT US AID IS NOT RESTORED. THE FORCES IN TURKISH SOCIETY THAT ARE MOBILIZING AGAINST US ARE DEEPLY ROOTED IN PRIDE AND NATIONALIST SENTIMENT. THE DEBATE WILL NOT BE CLEAR-HEADED AND RATIONAL; RATHER IT WILL BE ON THE LEVEL OF SLOGANS AND CATCH PHRASES APPEALING TO NATIONAL SELF-SUFFICIENCY AND HONOR.

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5. IT IS HARD TO PREDICT EXACTLY HOW LONG WE HAVE TO REVERSE THE CONGRESSIONAL ACTION BEFORE THE GOT FEELS IMPELLED TO BEGIN TO DISMANTLE THE ALLIANCE IN PAINFUL AND COMPELLING WAYS. WE MAY BE ABLE TO GET THROUGH FEBRUARY WITHOUT EFFECTIVE PUBLIC RETALIATION BY THE GOT. THIS IS ALL THE MORE LIKELY TO PROVE TRUE IF WE CONTINUE TO HOLD OUT HOPE THAT WE CAN TURN CONGRESS AROUND IN THIS TIME FRAME OR SOMETHING VERY CLOSE TO IT. BUT IF THE GOT COMES TO FEEL THAT WE ARE LEADING IT ON WITH UN-

FOUNDED HOPES, ITS RESTRAINT WILL EVAPORATE AND IT WILL FEEL  
THE NEED TO SQUEEZE US IMMEDIATELY IN AREAS THAT IT JUDGES WE WOULD  
FIND PAINFUL. IN ANY EVENT, THE LONGER THE CUTOFF THE MORE WE  
WILL HAVE UNDERMINED CONFIDENCE IN US AS ALLIES, A TREND THAT  
HAS ALREADY BEEN SET POWERFULLY IN TRAIN.

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